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ART. VI.—Remarks by Raja Radhakanta Deva, on Art. XI., Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, p. 201; with Observations by Professor H. H. Wilson.

[Read 19th March, 1859.]

THE sixteenth volume of the Journal of our Society, has given insertion to a communication made by me, on the supposed authority of the Vedas, for the burning of Hindu widows, in which I have shown that the passage quoted as enjoining the practice, and as pubished by Mr. Colebrooke, in his Paper in the Asiatic Researches, upon the "Duties of a Sati or Faithful Widow," had been either purposely or accidentally wrongly read, and that so far from authorizing the rite. its real purport was the reverse; and that it expected the widow to repress her affliction and return to her worldly duties. This view was entirely confirmed by the explanation of the passage given by the celebrated commentator, Sayana Acharya, and by the precepts of Aswalayana, cited by Professor Maximilian Müller, published in continuation of my remarks on the same occasion. The revised reading has not proved acceptable to the Pandits of Calcutta, and the following letter is the expression of their sentiments. The writer, a friend of many years, Raja Radhakant Deb is well known as a leading member of the Native Society of Calcutta, who adds to the distinction of rank and station, that of a foremost place amongst Sanskrit scholars, as evinced by his great Lexicon or Literary Encyclopædia of the Sanskrit language, in seven quarte volumes; the Sabdakalpadruma. which enjoys a European as well as Indian celebrity. Any opinion coming from him on subjects connected with the ancient literature of his country is entitled to the greatest deference. The question of the authority for the Sati cremation is now, as he rightly observes, a matter merely for literary discussion, but as it is not without interest for the historian and antiquarian, his remarks will, I doubt not, be highly acceptable to those scholars who are engaged in the investigation of the ancient religion and history of the Hindus; and as he has no objection to their being laid before the public, I have thought it advisable to request a place for them in the Journal, although, as I VOL. XVII.

shall subsequently explain, they have not induced me to modify in the least my opinions on the subject, as my esteemed correspondent seems to anticipate.

MY DEAR DR. WILSON,

Although the abolition of the practice of Sahamarana in the British Indian territories has legally set the question at rest, and deprived it of all interest in the public eye, yet its discussion will always afford pleasure to the historian and antiquarian, and has its peculiar value in a literary point of view.

The perusal of your very interesting article "On the supposed Vaidio authority for the burning of Hindu Widows, and on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Hindús," which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xvi. part i., having induced me to inquire whether any trace of this custom can be found in the Vedas, I have made certain discoveries and come to a conclusion, which I believe, would lead you to modify considerably the opinion you have formed on the subject.

The most explicit authority for the burning of a widow with her deceased husband, is to be found in the two verses of the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, quoted in the eighty-fourth Anuváka of the Náráyaníya Upanishad, of which I give the following literal translation, and subjoin the original text with the commentary of Sáyanáchárya:—

Text. श्राने व्रतानां व्रतपितरिस पत्यानुगमवतं चिरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्त्रो राध्यतां ॥ १ ॥ Com. हे श्राने कर्मासाचिन् । यतः लं व्रतानां प्राजापत्याद्यखिलव्रतानां व्रतपितरिस । पुनर्वतग्रहणं लमेव व्रतानामधिपितनीन्य दति नियमबो धनाय ॥ तस्मान् मयाचर्य्यमाणं यत् सांप्रतिकं व्रतं तद्ययादं कंर्त्ती प्रकेयं तथाराध्यतां कियतामित्यर्थः । धातूनामनेका र्थलात् । किं लयाचर्य्यमाणं तद्वतिमित पत्यानुगमेति पत्या भर्वा सह श्रनुसृत्यगमनव्रतं चिर्यामि करिष्यामीत्यर्थः ॥

- 1. "Oh! Agni, of all Vratas', thou art the Vratapati², I will observe the vow (Vrata) of following the husband. Do thou enable me to accomplish it!"
- 2. "Here (in this rite), to thee O Agni, I offer salutation; to gain the heavenly mansion I enter into thee (wherefore), Oh Jataveda³; this day, satisfied with the clarified butter (offered by me), inspire me with courage (for Sahagamana) and take me to my lord."

Agreeably to this general Vaidic injunction, the Sutrakáras direct that the widow, like the sacrificial utensils of a Brahmana, should be made to lie upon the funeral pile of her husband, and accordingly as he was a Brahmana, Kshetriya, or Vaisya, a piece of gold, a bow, or a jewel is to be respectively placed thereupon.

To the widow so placed beside the lifeless body of her husband, the Mantras beginning with "... Udírshwa, &c.," and "Suvarna goong hastát, &c.," Dhanurhastát, &c.," or "Manigoong hastát, &c.," are to be addressed to her by her husband's brother or fellow-student, accordingly as he belonged to the priestly, military, or mercantile class.

Toxt. द् ह ला त्राने नमसा विधेय सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेत्ये।
जुषाणो त्रद्य हिवषा जातवेदो विशानि ला सत्ततो नय मा
पत्युर्ये॥ Com. हे त्राने दह त्रसान् कर्माण। ला लामु
दिश्य। हिवषा हिवभागेन। नमसा नमस्कारेण च। विधेयं
नमो विद्धामीत्यर्थः। किमर्थमित्युक्ती तचाह। सुवर्गस्थेति
सुवर्गस्य पतिसंप्राप्यलोकस्य। समेत्यै सम्यक् प्राप्यर्थः। ला
लयीत्यर्थः सप्तम्यर्थं दितीया कान्द्सी। विशानि प्रविशानि
त्रत एव त्रद्य त्रमिन् दिने। हे जातवेदः हिवषा मह्त्तेन
हिवभागेण। जुषाणः सन्तुष्टः सन्। सलतः सलमार्गप्रदर्शनदारा
सहगमनसिषयक साहसप्रदानदारेति यावत्। मा मां पति
मान्नैकदेवतां पत्युः मम भर्त्र्यं समन्नं नय प्राप्येत्यर्थः॥

Vowed or voluntary observances.

² Lord of Vratas.

³ Source of the Vedas.

⁴ The first part of the address beginning with "Udirshwa," &c., is the same in respect of the funeral of the first three classes: by this Mantra the widow is requested to leave the corpse and to return to her abode. The remaining three Mantras are to be addressed to the widow of a Brahmana, Kshetriya, and Vaisya

If the widow thus addressed has not made up her mind for her immolation, she obeys the call; but should she be firm in her resolve, she consoles her friends and relatives, and enters the fire.

Extracts 1 from Bharadwája and Aswaláyana, and from the Saha-

respectively, whereby she is required to lift up from the funeral pile the respective symbols of the deceased, and therewith to rub his hands. This call forms an important part of the ceremony.

े श्रधेनं चितावुपर्याध्यूहत्यचैव वा पत्थाः संवेशना क्तियत इति॥ Bharadwája's Sútra, Prasna 1.

श्रधितानि पाचाणि योजयेद् चिणे हस्ते जुहूं सय उपभृतं द्विणे पार्शे स्प्यं सये श्रानिहो चहवणीमुरिस ध्रुवां शिरिस कल्पानानीत्यादि Aswaláyana's Grihya Sátra, Adhyáya iv. 3.

उत्तरतः पत्नीं ॥ Com. ततः प्रेतस्थोत्तरतः पत्नीं संवेशः यन्ति। शाययन्तीत्यर्थः। चितावेव उपग्रेष दति सिङ्गात्। एतावदर्णत्रयस्थापि समानं॥ 1b. Adh. ii. 3.

उदीर्घ्वनार्घ्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपग्रेष दति। इसः ग्रामख दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनिलमभिसंबभूष॥

हस्ती समार्छि सुवर्णेन ब्राह्मणस्य सुवर्णे हस्तादिति । धनुषा राजन्यस्यधनुर्हसादिति । मणिना वैग्यस्य मणिं हस्तादिति ॥ Bharadwája's Sútra.

तामुत्यापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरद्दासो वोदीर्घ्व नार्य्यभिजीवलोकमिति Aswa, ii. 2.

उत्तरतः पत्नीं। तां प्रेतस्थोत्तरतः मुप्तां मचरिहतां देवरः प्रिय्यो वा करे धृला नमस्कृत्य उदीर्थ्वेति दाभ्यामु त्यापयेत्। मचाधिकात्तु खयमेव मुदृदः मंबन्धिनः पुत्रां स्य ममामंत्र्य भक्तारं विष्णुरूपं धृला हुताप्रनं प्रविष्येदित्युत्तं॥ * Sahamaranavedhi.

^{*} Her (the widow) lying on the north of the deceased, if she want courage, her husband's brother, or fellow-student, or old servant shall, by reciting the two

maranavidhi, a work of much repute in Drávida, are quoted below in elucidation of these practices. From these Vaidic and Sautric injunctions have been derived the rules and directions for the immolation of the Sati, in the Smritis and Puránas.

After having thus shown the Vaidic authority for the Sahamarana, I shall offer some observations upon the conclusions you have drawn, on perusing the seventh and eighth Verses¹ of the second Súkta of the second Anuváka of the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda

In the first place, on referring to Raghunandana's Suddhitattwa, whence Colebrooke derives his materials for his "Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Widow," published in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, we find the author citing a verse from the Rigveda and a passage from the Brahma Purána, in order to show that the Veda authorizes Sahamarana. You suppose this verse to be an incorrect reading of the seventh Rich above alluded to, and support your reasoning by the Commentary of Sáyana and the directions of Aswaláyana.

Now, the shortest way in which our pandits would dispute this opinion, would be to assert that for aught that we moderns know, Raghunandana's citation may be altogether a different verse from the seventh Rich, and may be found somewhere, in any of the five Sákhás¹ of the Rigveda; inasmuch as the same verse, with slight variations of reading, and hence with different import and application, often occurs

दमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीराञ्चनेन मर्पिषा संविधन्तु।

प्रमित्रवोऽनमीवाः मुरत्ना रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥१॥

उदीर्घ्य नार्याभिजीवलोकं गतामुमेतं उपग्रेष एहि। हस्तथाः

भस्य दिधिषो स्रवेदं पत्युर्जनिलमंभिमंबभूष्य॥ ऽ॥

देसा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीरञ्चनेन सर्पिषा संविधन्तु।

प्रमस्तरोऽनमीवाः मुरत्ना श्रारोहन्तु जनयो यो निमग्रेः॥

* श्रायेलायणी, सांख्यायनी, श्राकला, वाष्कला, माण्डुकेयी

Mantras Udirshwa, &c., raise, holding her by the hand and saluting her; but if she have sufficient courage, she bidding adieu to her friends, relatives, and children, and contemplating the Vishnu-like form of her husband, enters the fire.

^{* &}quot;The loyal wife (who burns herself) shall not be deemed a suicide."

in the different Vedas, in various Sákhás of the same Veda, and sometimes in different places of the same Sákha of a Veda. The objection to the use of the epithets "Avidhavá" and "Sapatni," whereby you suppose the reason for burning to be wanting, can be easily answered by supposing the Sati (whose soul is, as it were wedded to that of her husband), not to be widowed; actual practice, when it prevailed in India, may be considered as confirmatory of this opinion. The Sati, in making preparations for ascending the funeral pile, used to mark her forehead with Sindura, and to deck herself sumptuously with all the symbols of a Sadhavá.

But so long as the proper place of the verse quoted by Raghunandana, is not pointed out, the occidental pandits, who are making wonderful progress in Vaidic learning, may regard it an idle assertion. I shall therefore, for argument's sake, grant Raghunandana's citation to be a false reading of the seventh verse in question.

On this supposition you may be justified in coming to the conclusion, that the genuine reading of the passage rather discountenances than enjoins Sahamarana; but by referring to the subjoined Sútras¹ of Bharadwája and Aswaláyana, wherein they specify the rites in

[ं] नवस्यां खुष्टायां यज्ञोपवीतीत्यन्तरायामं स्नामानं चामिनु
पसमाधाय संपरिसीर्यापरेणाम्निं लोहितं चर्मानुबुहं प्राचीन
यीवमुत्तरलोमासीर्य वेतसमानिनो ज्ञातीनारोहत्योरोहते
त्ययैनांननु पूर्व्वान् कम्पयति यथाहानीति प्रतिलोमकृतया
चारण्या खुचा दे चतुर्गृहीते जुहोति न हि ते श्रग्ने तनुव
दति दम्म च खुवाहुतीरश्रपनम्भो मुचद्यमिति हुलापाम्मा
सम्पातयत्यवोभयं प्रहर्ति येन जुहोत्यपरेनाग्निं लोहितो
दनद्वान् प्राङ् मुखोवस्थितो भवति तं ज्ञातयो दन्वारमन्ते
दनद्वाहमन्वारभामह दति प्राञ्ची द्वानीमे जीवा दित जघन्यो
वेतसमाख्या श्रवकाभिश्व पदानित्यलोभयते मृत्योः पदमि
त्ययैभ्यो द्वामीति खीणामञ्जनिषु संपातानवनयतीमानारी
रिति तैर्मुखानि मृजने यदाञ्चनं चैककुदिमित चैककुदे

which many of the verses of the tenth Mandala quoted by you, are to be respectively cited as Mantras, you will at once see what you rightly guess—that the verse in question has nothing to do with the concremation of a Sati; it is directed to be chaunted on the tenth day after the burning of the dead, when the relatives of the deceased assemble on the Smasana to perform certain ceremonies, on the conclusion of which, the Adhwaryu takes butter with a new blade of kusa grass, or clarified butter between the thumb and ring finger, and applying it, as collyrium, to the eyes of Sadhavás, 'recites the seventh hymn in question, the moment they are directed to depart towards the east.

Now, as the text, which has been supposed to authorize Sahamarana, clearly appears to be appropriated to quite a different occasion, the argument based upon its interpretation proving it to discountenance concremation, necessarily falls to the ground.

The succeeding verses (to wit, the eighth and ninth), as I observed before, are enjoined to be addressed to the widow, lying on the funeral pile of her husband, and therefore have no relation with the seventh.

Had there been no explicit Vaidic injunction for Sahamarana, these passages, taken by themselves, would certainly have justified the conclusion that the Rigveda prohibits or ignores, by these texts, the

नांजनेनांको यदि चैककुदं नावगच्छेत् येनैव केनिचदाञ्चनेना ज्जीरन् ॥ Bharadwája's Sútra, Prasna I, Khanda II.

self-immolation of a Sati, but when we find in the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, the Sati's address to Agni while throwing herself into it, and thus discover the Vaidic sanction for concremation, we must pause before we regard the eighth verse as an authority against this tragic act.

The Mimánsákára would argue thus,—"Where there are two authorities of a contradictory character, but of equal cogency, an alternative must be supposed to have been allowed." The Sutrakáras, upon the Vaidie authorities above set forth, direct that the widow as well as the sacrificial utensils of the deceased Brahmana should be placed upon his funeral pile; but, as the widow has a will of her own, she cannot be disposed of like the inert utensils. The Rigveda therefore gives her the option of sacrificing herself or not, according as she may may not have her courage "screwed up to the sticking place."

When the Sati lies on the funeral pile, it is presumed 2 she is inclined to immolate herself, and the eighth verse is addressed to her, as the author of the Sahamaranavidhi explains, only to test her resolution, and to induce her to retire, if she be not sufficiently firm in her purpose. The necessity of giving her this option and trying her fortitude beforehand, appears the more strong, when we find it declared 3 that the Sati who becomes Chitabhrashtá, who retires from the funeral pile after the conclusion of the rites, commits a highly sinful act, although it admits of expiation by the performance of the Prájápatya.

Our personal observation of the actual practice when it prevailed in British India confirms this view; from the moment a Sati expressed her desire to follow her lord, up to the time she ascended the funeral pile, every persuasive language was used to induce her to continue in the family, and to discharge her proper duties there, and it was not until she was found inflexible that she was allowed to sacrifice himself, this was perfectly in keeping with the Udírshwa, &c., Mantra.

Thus the 8th verse of the Rigveda, above alluded to, appears to

तुत्त्वबलविरोधे विकल्पः।

Gotama quoted by Kullukabhatta in his Com. on Manu, v. 14, B. 2, which see.

² Sáyana, when he says,in his Commentary on the 8th Rich; "Yasmát anusarana nischayam ákárshih tasmádágachchha," he takes the same view; he does not consider the burning as delayed, as may be supposed from a technical interpretation of the word "anusarana," because, as you say, subsequent burning is inconsistent with the presence of the corpse.

[ै] चितास्रष्टा तु या नारी मोद्यादिचिता भवेत्। प्राजापत्येन गुद्धोत् तु तस्माद्यिपापकर्माणः॥

be, in fact, a Sahamarana Mantra, though its interpretation, apart from other considerations, may, on a first view, seem to discountenance the practice.

A very strong presumption in support of the opinion, that Sahamarana rests upon Vaidic authority, arises from the circumstance of its having prevailed in India in very remote times, when Vaidic rites only were in vogue. On referring to the Mahábhárata, for instance, we find the widows of the heroes slain in the battle of Kurukshetra consuming themselves in the funeral fires of their husbands, when there lived great kings and sages imbued with Vaidic learning, and devoted to the observance of Vaidic rituals.

Nearly two thousand years ago Propertius describes the prevalence of this custom in India, in a passage of which the following is a translation by Boyses (see Brit. Poets, Chalmer's Ed., Vol. 14, p. 563):—

"Happy the laws that in those climes obtain, Where the bright morning reddens all the main, There, whenso'er the happy husband dies, And on the funeral couch extended lies, His faithful wives around the scene appear, With pompous dress and a triumphant air; For partnership in death, ambitious strive, And dread the shameful fortune to survive! Adorned with flowers the lovely victims stand, With smiles ascend the pile, and light the brand! Grasp their dear partners with unaltered faith, And yield exulting to the fragrant death."

Cicero, also, who lived about the same time, mentions this fact in his Tusculum Questions. Herodotus speaks of a race of Thracians, whose women sacrificed themselves on the tombs of their husbands: these people, as well as the Gette by whom this custom was also observed, were perhaps some tribe of degraded Kshetriyas.

You may, if you think it worth while, read this paper at the next meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I remain,

My dear Dr. Wilson,
Yours sincerely,
RADHAKANT DEB.

CALCUTTA, 30th June, 1858.

Observations.

In disproving the genuineness of the citation of the passage which had been quoted as authority for the Sati, I confined my objections to the particular passage in question, and in this respect the Raja is obliged to admit, that I may be justified in coming to the conclusion, that the genuine reading rather discountenances than enjoins Sati. This was all I maintained. Of course I never intended to deny, that there were numerous texts in the Sútras and law-books, by which it was enjoined. I restricted my argument to the individual text quoted from the Rigveda, and with Raja Radhakant Deb's own concurrence. I have no occasion to modify the view I have taken, as limited to this object: the text of the Rigveda, that has been quoted as authority for the burning of the widow, is no such thing, "it rather discountenances than enjoined the practice." I have not expressed any opinion, whother any such injunction is to be found in any other part of the Sanhitá of the Rigveda, or of the Sanhitás of the White or Black Yajush, or the Samaveda. That is quite a different question, although, as the topic is started by the Raja, I may venture to intimate an opinion, that the burning of a widow will not be found even alluded to in the genuine text, the Sanhitá, of either of the three principal Vedas. may be the antiquity of the rite, and that it is of long standing is not to be disputed, I suspect its origin is later than the Sanhitá, or primary Vedic period. I have now translated, although not yet published, nearly the whole of the Súktas, or hymns, the primitive portions of the Rigveda, and have yet found no notice of any such ceremony: the prohibition which would imply the existence of the rite, is matter of inference only; the direction, that the widow is to be led away from the proximity of her deceased husband, does not necessarily imply that she was to depart from his funeral pile, and there is no term, in the text, that indicates such a position.

In the course of my translation of the Rigveda, I have had a great number of occasions to refer to the printed texts of the Vajasaneyí Sanhitá, of the Yajar-veda, published by Professor Weber, of the Samaveda printed by the late Mr. Stevenson and Professor Benfey, and I do not remember to have met with any allusion whatever in either of those works to the Sati ceremonial. There remains therefore only the Taittiríya Sanhitá of the Black Yajush to be examined: a part only of this has been printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in their Bibliotheca Indica, and, as far as it goes, the same absence of allusion to the Sati occurs: so far, therefore, I have reason to believe,

that the burning of widows was unknown to the Vedic period of Hindu ritual or belief.

That the Sútras of Aswalayána. Bharadwája, and other Sútra-káras contain Sútras, or rules, for the cremation, is indisputable, but all Vedic scholars agree in considering these works as of much more recent date than the Sanhitá, or text period; they, therefore, prove nothing, and of still less weight are the Sahamarana-vidhi or the Tatwas of Raghunandana, or other equally modern writings: the question is not whether there be any authorities at all for the practice, but whether such authority be discoverable in the original Vedic texts; there is no lack whatever of the former—I cannot yet positively deny, but I question the existence of the latter. To this Radhakant replies, "the most explicit (Vedic) authority is to be found in the two verses of the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, quoted in the 84th anuváka of the Náráyaníya Upanishad," of which he gives the literal translation as well as of the comment; unfavourably for his argument, the authority is liable to obvious exceptions.

In the first place, the two verses are not cited direct from the text of the Taittiriya Sanhitá itself; they are a quotation of a quotation, and, as in the case of the passage of the Rigveda, which has given rise to this discussion, we know that quotations cannot always be trusted. The Pandits should have made a reference to the Taittiriva Sanhitá itself. and have given us chapter and verse for the passages; we should then be able to test their accuracy by collation with the printed text when In the next place, the quotation occurs in an Upanishad, the Yajniki, or Náráyaniya: the Upanishad period is of doubtful determination, because the Upanishads, which are numerous, one list enumerating above a hundred, are evidently of widely different dates, and not unfrequently of equivocal character. The Náráyaniya Upanishad is not altogether unexceptionable, for it constitutes the tenth Prapáthaka, or section, of what is usually considered a Bráhmana, the Taittiriya Aranyaka; Sayana calls it even khilarupa, or of the nature of an additional or supplementary section, so that it is scarcely acknowledged to be a part of the original Aranyaka.

Upon referring to the manuscripts of the library of the India House, another difficulty arises; neither text nor comment consists of more than 64 anuvákas, whilst the verses quoted by Radhakant, are said to be taken from the 84th anuváka; consequently no such verses could be expected to be found in our copy, and accordingly they do not occur. Sáyana, however, observes, that different recensiors do exist, of which the Drávíra has 64 anuvákas, the Andhra, 80, the Karnáta 74, others 89. There may be a copy belonging to a different Sákhá,

the Aukhya for instance, of which we have no copy, with 84 anuvákas. Sáyana, however, avowedly follows the Drávira recension, containing only 64 anuvákas, the actual number of two copies consulted, and in which no such passages are met with; whence then do the Pandits derive their scholia of the 84th? it is for them to give a satifactory explanation. Therefore, as the matter stands, the verses cited, together with their commentary, wear a somewhat suspicious appearance, not the less observable that the different recensions specified are all named after the divisions of Southern India, where the Vedas did not penetrate probably till long after their compilation. Although, however, their authenticity be admitted, their occurring in an Upanishad, or even in a Bráhmana, is no proof that the Sanhitá of the Taittiríya Yajush contains them, or sanctions the burning of widows, or that the rite was cotemporary with the ritual of the Vedic period.

H H. W.